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NOTE

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2539th MEETING

Held in New York on Friday, 11 May 1984, at 7.40 p.m.

President: Mr. Oleg A. TROYANOVSKY
(Union of Soviet Socialist Republics).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2539)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in Cyprus:
   Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

The meeting was called to order at 7.55 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in Cyprus:
Letter dated 30 April 1984 from the Permanent Representative of Cyprus to the United Nations addressed to the President of the Security Council (S/16514)

1. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: In accordance with the decisions taken at previous meetings on this item [*2531st to 2538th meetings*], I invite the representatives of Cyprus, Greece and Turkey to take places at the Council table; I invite the representatives of Afghanistan, Algeria, Antigua and Barbuda, Australia, Bangladesh, Bulgaria, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Ecuador, the German Democratic Republic, Guyana, Hungary, Jamaica, Malaysia, Mongolia, Panama, Saint Lucia, Sri Lanka, the Syrian Arab Republic, Viet Nam and Yugoslavia to take the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Iacovou (Cyprus), Mr. Dountas (Greece) and Mr. Kirca (Turkey) took places at the Council table; Mr. Zarif (Afghanistan), Mr. Sahnoun (Algeria), Mr. Jacobs (Antigua and Barbuda), Mr. Woolcott (Australia), Mr. Wasiuddin (Bangladesh), Mr. Tsvetkov (Bulgaria), Mr. Zumbado Jiménez (Costa Rica), Mr. Roa Kourí (Cuba), Mr. César (Czechoslovakia), Mr. Albornoz (Ecuador), Mr. Ott (German Democratic Republic), Mr. Karran (Guyana), Mr. Rácz (Hungary), Mr. Carr (Jamaica), Mr. Zain (Malaysia), Mr. Erdenechuluun (Mongolia), Mrs. Noriega (Panama), Mr. St. Aimée (Saint Lucia), Mr. Wijewardane (Sri Lanka), Mr. Al-Atassi (Syrian Arab Republic), Mr. Le Kim Chung (Viet Nam) and Mr. Golob (Yugoslavia) took the places reserved for them at the side of the Council chamber.

2. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The Security Council will now resume its consideration of the item on its agenda. Members of the Council have before them document S/16550, which contains the text of a draft resolution submitted by India, Nicaragua, Upper Volta and Zimbabwe.

3. Mr. LIANG Yufan (China) [*interpretation from Chinese*]: First of all, Sir, I should like, on behalf of the Chinese delegation, to extend our congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. Your outstanding diplomatic skill will undoubtedly ensure that the Council will smoothly fulfil its mission. The Chinese delegation also wishes to take this occasion to express its appreciation for the excellent manner in which Mr. Kravets, the President last month, performed his duties.

4. We have listened attentively to the statement made by Mr. Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus [*2531st meeting*], and to the statements made by Mr. Denktaş and other representatives. The Chinese delegation also wishes briefly to reiterate the position of the Chinese Government on the question of Cyprus.

5. The Chinese Government steadfastly supports the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as well as its non-aligned status. The Chinese Government and people are deeply concerned about the fact that the Cyprus question has remained unsolved for so long, and they have deep sympathy for the Cypriot people, which has suffered so much from this state of affairs. The recent deterioration of the situation in Cyprus has increased their anxiety.

6. It is the hope of the Chinese Government that the Cyprus question will be solved through intercommunal negotiations. The Chinese delegation maintains that the Cyprus question is a complicated one; while having its own historical background, it is also being affected by present-day factors. It will take some time before a solution can be reached.

7. At the same time, we consistently believe that the two Cypriot communities share the same fundamental interests and that their differences can be solved. We are glad to hear from the current debate such statements as "the Turkish Cypriot community constitutes a precious and inseparable part of the people of our country" and the assurance not to seek the partition of Cyprus. We sincerely hope that, for the prosperity of Cyprus, the two Cypriot communities will set store by their overall interests, act in a spirit of mutual understanding and mutual accommodation and avoid taking any action that might further complicate and magnify the Cyprus question. Efforts should be made for the creation of an atmosphere of mutual trust so that the bicommunal negotiations can soon be resumed and the Cyprus question solved at an early date. We believe that this is not just the ardent hope of the Chinese people but the common aspiration of all peoples throughout the world.

8. The Chinese Government supports the Secretary-General's mission of good offices. The international community has been deeply concerned about the question of Cyprus. In the past 20 years and more both the General Assembly and the Security Council have considered this question on many occasions and adopted numerous resolutions pertaining to it. Mandated by the Security Council, the Secretary-General has over a long period of time tried to use his good offices to help bring about a reasonable solution to the question. Although his mediation efforts have not yet yielded due results, they are helpful for maintaining contacts and promoting the process of negotiations. The Chinese delegation has always appreciated and supported his efforts. In his report [*S/16519*] the Secretary-General stated that he is prepared, if the Security Council so decides, to continue to discharge to the best of his ability the mission of good offices entrusted to him by the Council. The Chinese delegation will continue to co-operate with him in this regard and we hope that all the parties concerned will continue to render him co-operation and support in his endeavours.

9. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now make a statement in my capacity as representative of the UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

10. The Soviet Union is seriously concerned about the worsening state of affairs in Cyprus, where a further exacerbation of the situation fraught with dangerous consequences is taking place. It is from this standpoint that we approach the present discussion of the question of Cyprus in the Security Council.

11. The Soviet delegation listened carefully to the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, and we can well understand the emotion with which he spoke about the threat to the sovereignty and unity of Cyprus resulting from the continuing interference from outside in the internal affairs of that State and the attempts to bring about its partition. We also listened carefully to the other statements at Council meetings by the representatives of the parties directly interested.

12. In November last year the Security Council considered the situation that had arisen as a result of the fact that the leaders of the Turkish community of Cyprus had proclaimed the establishment of a so-called "independent State" in the part of the island under foreign occupation. This secessionist action was condemned by the Security Council in its resolution 541 (1983), for which the Soviet Union voted.

13. As members are aware, at that time the Council called upon all States and both communities in Cyprus to refrain from any actions that might exacerbate the situation. Despite that appeal, the Turkish community took steps recently to consolidate the so-called "independent State" in part of the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. This cannot be seen as anything other than a flagrant violation of the decisions of the Security Council and an attempt to create new *faits accomplis*.

14. These actions seriously undermine the basis for a just political settlement of the problem of Cyprus that would take properly into account the lawful interests of both communities on the island. They are causing a dangerous exacerbation of the situation both in that country and in the adjacent region. In the interest of peace and calm in the region, as well as in the long-term interests of Cypriots—Greek and Turkish—it is important that the leaders of the Turkish Cypriot community revoke those decisions, which were designed to split Cyprus and which contravene the repeated decisions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

15. The Soviet delegation draws attention to the fact that the declaration of the so-called "independent State" was made at a time when the international situation was worsening. As was noted on 28 April this year at a meeting of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Constantine Chernenko, with the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Greece, Mr. Florakis, this action "was a direct consequence of the actions of the imperialist forces, led by the United States, which are stirring up hotbeds of conflict in various parts of the world."

16. In the present conditions, in the view of the Soviet delegation, the Security Council must condemn any secessionist action designed to split the Cypriot State. We agree with those who argue that the Council should demand implementation of its former decisions, including resolution 541 (1983), and support the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. The Council must state its support for a continuance of the Secretary-General's efforts to bring about a settlement of the question of Cyprus.

17. The present situation once again confirms how important it is that all parties should show true political far-sightedness and refrain from any actions that might in the end only inflame the situation and create new obstacles to a mutually acceptable solution of the Cypriot problem. It is also important to continue to try to break prevailing trends and to direct the development of events on the island towards normalization.

18. In this connection we continue to attach great importance to the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General, which has been renewed repeatedly by the Security Council. The Secretary-General's activities are a source of satisfaction to those who are in favour of the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. We hope that the Secretary-General will, as in the past, be able to use his authority to break the deadlock on the Cypriot problem and bring about the resumption of the intercommunal dialogue and progress towards a just and lasting settlement. His efforts have always had and will continue to have the support of the Soviet Union.

19. The Soviet Union, for its part, will continue to promote the early achievement by peaceful means of a just settlement in Cyprus, without outside interference and through constructive negotiations. We will persistently and consistently adhere to the policy that Cyprus should be an independent non-aligned State with territorial integrity and free from the presence of foreign troops and military bases. We are decisively against any kind of partition of the Republic of Cyprus and its absorption by any country, which has been directly forbidden by the Security Council in its resolution 367 (1975). The Soviet Union is consistently guided by this position of principle in its contacts in connection with the Cypriot problem with all the interested States and parties.

20. I now resume my duties as PRESIDENT of the Council.

21. It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it. If I hear no objection, I shall now put the draft resolution to the vote.

22. I call upon the representative of Pakistan, who wishes to make a statement before the vote.

23. Mr. SHAH NAWAZ (Pakistan): My delegation deeply regrets that, as in the case of resolution 541 (1983) on 18 November 1983, we have little choice but to cast a negative vote on the draft resolution in document S/16550.

24. We opposed resolution 541 (1983) because in our judgement it fell short of the minimum requirements of a document expected to serve as a basis for promoting a fair solution of the Cyprus problem and preserving the unity and territorial integrity of the island State. Our conviction, deriving from the past and contemporary history of the events in Cyprus, was that the accumulated problems of the island could only be resolved by predicating its independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity within the framework of a bi-communal, bi-zonal federal system. It was also our conviction that such a consummation of events could have been brought about only through the promotion of intercommunal talks and reconciliation and unstinted support and encouragement for the initiative of the Secretary-General. We opposed resolution 541 (1983) precisely because it lacked these essential attributes.

25. We do not like to sit in judgement of the authors of resolution 541 (1983), who promoted it, no doubt, with the best of intentions. However, even the best of intentions do not necessarily ensure a journey to salvation if they do not originate in realism or if they neglect historical imperatives. As all members know, resolution 541 (1983) has remained moribund because one of the two recognized principal parties to the Cyprus problem, namely the Turkish Cypriot community, found it totally unacceptable. Thus it failed to promote its intended objectives and only resulted in the further disenchantment of the Turkish Cypriot community, as reflected in its recent actions, which have been the subject of the current debate in the Security Council.

26. During the Council's deliberations this time, we emphasized that the Council had an opportunity to turn the course of events on the island in the right direction. We did not look at the situation in a hopeless vein; we saw a silver lining in the clearly stated desire of both sides to maintain the unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. What was required was to move away from resolution 541 (1983) and to mount a constructive and positive effort by giving an open mandate to the Secretary-General to bring about conciliation between the two communities and to put back on the rails the hitherto interrupted intercommunal negotiations, which remain the only credible process for a just settlement of the Cyprus problem.

27. Little can be accomplished through yet another censure of the actions resorted to by the Turkish Cypriots, who for 20 years have felt deprived of their legitimate national rights guaranteed to them as a co-founder community under the 1960 Constitution, the bedrock of the independence of the island. I may recall the words of the representative of the United Kingdom, who this morning said that no party to the Cyprus problem has the monopoly of virtue. All parties have made mistakes, all parties have acted in contravention of agreements. Accordingly, a fresh approach needs to be built on the positive and promising elements which still survive in the situation and in the attitudes of the two Cypriot communities.

28. An appropriate resolution, in our view, would reaffirm the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus, call for the resumption of the intercommunal talks on the basis of the high-level

agreements of 1977 and 1979, which envisaged a united Cyprus within a bicommunal, bi-zonal federal framework. It would renew the Secretary-General's mission of good offices to reactivate efforts in the search for a settlement of the Cyprus problem through the resumption of intercommunal talks and would call on the parties to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices and to refrain from any action which might frustrate the fulfilment of his mandate.

29. The draft resolution in document S/16550 does not accord with our perception of the issue or what we consider to be an appropriate response to the delicate situation in Cyprus. In most of its aspects, this draft resolution is cast in the image of resolution 541 (1983), only it is harsher in tone. It makes no reference to the resumption of intercommunal talks or the high-level agreements of 1977 and 1979, which are fundamental to any search for a just settlement of the Cyprus problem. In our judgement the draft resolution is likely to become yet another obstacle rather than a milestone of progress on the difficult road to intercommunal reconciliation. It may indeed intensify beyond retrieve the divisive tendencies which are currently asserting themselves on the island.

30. Besides being one-sided in character, the draft resolution attempts to redefine the mandate of the Secretary-General to entrust him with what could be a "mission impossible". The Secretary-General is being requested to undertake new efforts to attain a solution of the Cyprus problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the pertinent United Nations resolutions, including Security Council resolution 541 (1983) and the present draft resolution. Efforts based on such a mandate could have little chance of success.

31. However, we are not entirely despondent; we have trust in the personality and prestige of the Secretary-General and the confidence the two sides repose in him. We hope that despite the complications inherent in the flawed mandate he will be able to renew his contacts with the leadership of the Cypriot communities and present comprehensive proposals which could promote a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus problem. We also have confidence in the good sense of the leaders of the two communities to refrain from any further actions which would irrevocably frustrate the objective of a united Cyprus.

32. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now put to the vote the draft resolution in document S/16550.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, Egypt, France, India, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Peru, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Upper Volta, Zimbabwe.

Against: Pakistan.

Abstaining: United States of America.

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to 1, with 1 abstention [resolution 550 (1984)].

33. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: I shall now call upon those members who wish to speak after the vote.

34. Mr. CLARK (United States of America): We wish sincerely to congratulate you personally, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Council for this month.

35. We have already said, and we wish to reiterate now, that the United States condemns the so-called exchange of ambassadors between Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership, as well as other announced actions which seek to reinforce the declaration of the Turkish Cypriot authorities of 15 November 1983. Additionally, we agree that the Council cannot accept *faits accomplis* contrary to its resolutions. We agree that these actions are without legal merit and hinder efforts to find a solution to the grave problems confronting Cyprus.

36. Despite these agreements with the draft resolution, however, we have abstained because we also recognize that strong feelings exist among the parties to this issue, and in view of this we seek to avoid any possible exacerbation, even if unintended, of the conflict.

37. We will continue to give the strongest possible support to the continuing good offices mission of the Secretary-General, and we earnestly hope that the parties concerned will do the same.

38. Sir John THOMSON (United Kingdom): My delegation voted in favour of the resolution which the Council has just adopted. We did so because wrong has been done and it is important for the Council to condemn it. In its resolution 541 (1983) of last November, the Council deplored the declaration by the Turkish Cypriot authorities of the purported secession of part of the Republic of Cyprus. That wrong has now been compounded by the purported exchange of ambassadors, and that the Council has now rightly condemned.

39. Although we voted for the resolution we do not regard it as ideal. It has several drawbacks, which I will come to in a moment.

40. First, however, I must re-emphasize the main points I made in my intervention in the debate this morning. The fundamental and long-term aspects of the situation in Cyprus are complicated. We shall not make them simpler or easier of solution by over-emphasizing the particular wrongdoing which we are now condemning. No party to the dispute, as I said earlier, has a

monopoly of virtue. All parties have made mistakes; all parties have acted in contravention of agreements. If actions or threats of actions of this sort persist, it inevitably means a serious worsening of the situation. The downward spiral of events towards catastrophe must be halted.

41. Indeed, it must be reversed. We must create an upward spiral. The way to do this is first and foremost through the Secretary-General's good offices. We applaud that part of our present resolution which calls on all parties to support this. We will judge the merits and the degree of support which is due to each party by the extent to which they obey this injunction. We are confident that the Secretary-General understands the problem in all its complexities and we expect him to strive his utmost to secure agreement, but he cannot do this without the co-operation of the parties. We have a proverb in English that while you can bring a horse to water, you cannot make him drink. It is essential that the parties to the dispute should express their readiness to drink. I would observe in parentheses that the consequences of not drinking are drastic. If the parties would put aside passion and think of their own future in realistic and unemotional terms, we believe that they will find acceptable and indeed sensible the principles which I enunciated at the end of my statement this morning.

42. I now turn to the drawbacks we found in the present resolution.

43. The first is that it seems either to go too far or not to go far enough. There is a certain confusion between the short term and the long term. We regret that it does not say some of the things contained in my speech this morning. We regret that it looks forward in some respects and not in others.

44. We are not sure that in a practical sense it is politically helpful to include in this resolution paragraphs 5 and 6. We also have reservations about paragraph 10.

45. As for paragraph 8, we regard its correct interpretation as of crucial importance. We are much concerned that misinterpretation of it might worsen the situation. I have voted in favour of the resolution on the understanding derived from the co-sponsors that paragraph 8 means that the Secretary-General's mandate set out in Security Council resolution 367 (1975) remains wholly valid. It is our understanding that the Secretary-General has a free hand. He will of course take account of the principles of the Charter and of relevant resolutions, but that is all. The Secretary-General is as free after this resolution as he has always been in the past. The latter part of this operative paragraph is meant to relate to the eventual overall solution of the Cyprus problem, not to the Secretary-General's mandate.

46. On these understandings and without believing that the resolution is perfect, we support it, because it has some good things in it. We wish to make it very plain that the adoption of this resolution is not to be taken as an excuse for further wrongs, nor for the adoption of intransigent positions on any side. The message we intend to convey through this resolution is that the future of both communities in Cyprus is at risk and that the way for them to support their own future security and well-being is to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the exercise of his good offices. Those who do not will lose friends.

47. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): During the Council's debate this morning on the question of Cyprus, I said that the Netherlands would extend its full co-operation to any effort by the Council that would strengthen the mission of good offices of the Secretary-General and provide him with the necessary political support. I also said that the recent developments have made it necessary for us to reaffirm forcefully and in accordance with Security Council resolution 541 (1983) the Council's opposition to and non-recognition of the November 1983 unilateral declaration of independence by the Turkish Cypriot authorities. However, we also recognize, as the representative of the United Kingdom pointed out this morning with great clarity, that it is necessary to make a distinction between the immediate problem of the purported exchange of ambassadors and the more fundamental long-term problem of the situation in Cyprus.

48. Having listened to the debate and taken into account the long and difficult history of the Cyprus problem, we felt that it would not be an easy task for the Council to give due consideration to the immediate and more long-term aspects of the situation in Cyprus and to agree on a constructive course of action which, while rejecting the regrettable recent developments, would at the same time have promoted conciliation, understanding, confidence and trust between the two separate communities, thereby reviving the hope for a peaceful and just solution to the Cyprus problem. Confronted with the present resolution, we would have liked to have seen these aims more fully reflected in its text.

49. In voting in favour of this resolution, which also contains many elements with which we wholeheartedly agree, my delegation wishes to express some reservations as to the wording of the resolution, in particular paragraph 10.

50. As far as paragraph 8 is concerned, we consider the language of this paragraph as in no way restricting the freedom of action of the Secretary-General in initiating any new efforts he might deem appropriate to revive the intercommunal dialogue within the framework of the existing mandate of his mission of good offices, as entrusted to him by the Council.

51. In conclusion, we earnestly hope that all parties directly concerned will heed the call expressed in paragraph 9 to co-operate with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices.

52. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: Mr. Rauf Denktaş, whom the Security Council under its rules of procedure has invited to take part in its meetings, has asked to be allowed to speak. With the agreement of the Council, I invite him to take a place at the Council table and to make his statement.

53. Mr. DENKTAŞ: My belief in the powers and intentions of this body is that it can make enslaved, colonized people free, but it cannot make free people enslaved or colonized.

54. The resolution, in the way in which it will be interpreted by the Greek Cypriot leadership—and we know them well—will become a tool for the harassment of my community and for the destruction of its bicommunality. I wish it were not so, but it will be so used. Therefore, I shall not take much of the Council's time.

55. The resolution, which refers to the Republic of Cyprus, or to the Cyprus Government, without regard at all to the co-founder, partnership status of my people and the fact that we have been rejected and ejected from the partnership State, looking at those who have occupied the seat of government by force of arms for 20 years, those who have denied my people all its natural rights and liberties, cannot be accepted by us as helpful to the solution of the problem.

56. I know from my contacts with some members of the Council that their Governments' decisions bind them. I hope that in time their Governments will see that we do not want to be a pawn between two or more Powers; that we are a people fighting for our independence and liberty; that we are, with our sacrifices, the party which has maintained the independence and non-alignment of Cyprus.

57. Representatives have said that they have listened to the statement of the President of the Republic of Cyprus. I have heard the statement of the President of southern Cyprus, and I have pointed out to the Council how he uses his powers and his authority against us.

58. I deny, and shall continue to deny, that we have seceded from our State. We were thrown out of it by a violent act and not allowed back in. I reject any suggestion of the idea of secession. I deny it, and shall continue to deny it, for and on behalf of my people, who are living as part of Cyprus, but separately, because they managed to stop the attacking forces at the right time and saved themselves from annihilation.

59. I have made no "threats for settlement of Varosha". I made an offer on 2 January this year about Varosha [*see S/16246, annex*]. Varosha is part of my State. I have said within the offers I have made that I am prepared to discuss it with the Secretary-General. It is regrettable that the Security Council, the highest authority on earth for settling international issues, has seen fit to dwell upon a small quarter in Cyprus without regard to the properties abandoned by my people for years and years.

60. Resolution 541 (1983) was counterproductive from the point of view of peace, and I told the Council with deference last time why we could not accept it. The Council has based the present resolution on it, and therefore we cannot accept today's resolution.

61. The Council declares the exchange of ambassadors illegal and invalid. We have taken notice of its views. We do not agree with them, because the Council has not taken cognisance of the true facts of the Cyprus case, because members are bound by directives from their centres, which have not heard the realities of Cyprus and which for years have been misled with misinformation.

62. The Council, in the resolution just adopted, calls upon all States "not to recognize the purported State of the 'Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus' set up by secessionist acts" and "not to facilitate or in any way assist the aforesaid secessionist entity". I thank the Council. It has decided that my people, because they are fighting for their liberty and do not accept colonization by the Greek Cypriots, should be isolated in this world like lepers. I thank it for this, and I am sure history will record how a community fighting for nothing but its liberty has been treated by this body.

63. In any case, for 20 years all our economic activities were stopped. We were under a blockade by the Greek Cypriot side, because they regarded themselves as the legitimate Government of Cyprus. Now, on their behalf, you are asking them to squeeze us out economically. We have lived on bread, on onions, on beans, for years. We shall continue to do so if necessary, but we shall not accept those who occupy by force the seat of Government as the Government of Cyprus.

64. The Council "Calls upon all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and nonalignment of the Republic of Cyprus". I hope Greek Cypriot leaders are also bound by this demand, because it is they who attacked independence in the name of *enosis*; it is they who divided the territory of Cyprus by trying to destroy us; it is they who destroyed unity by ejecting us from the Government; it is they, not we, who used and continue to use non-alignment for the purpose of hellenising Cyprus.

65. The Council "Considers attempts to settle any part of Varosha by people other than its inhabitants as inadmissible and calls for the transfer of that area to the administration of the United Nations". I am sorry to say that the Council does not even know what Varosha means, what it is. The Secretary-General knows it; I know it. We have exchanged documents and maps on it, and I undertook in my offers of 2 January to talk about this part of the town with him. With this resolution the Council makes it extremely difficult for me to keep my promise and continue to do so.

66. In spite of my statement this morning about the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus

(UNFICYP), that matter also has been incorporated in the resolution. We shall deal with this matter when the time comes for the mandate in the spirit in which I spoke this morning, hoping that nothing will be done in the mean time by the enforced so-called Government of Cyprus to stop us pursuing that course.

67. Then the Secretary-General is requested "to promote the urgent implementation of Security Council resolution 541 (1983)". I trust that the Secretary-General will find a way parallel to this request and will not attempt to comply with it, because that would kill the intercommunal talks and any prospect of negotiations.

68. We are not a herd of animals; we are a people with a history, with 20 years of struggle for our rights behind us; we are a people entitled to the same consideration as the Greek Cypriots. We cannot accept a position in which we are disregarded in this fashion.

69. In paragraph 8 the Council reaffirms the good offices mandate, but ties it to resolution 541 (1983). Thus it is giving the Secretary-General a duty which has nothing to do with good offices. If the Secretary-General is unable to find a parallel way of approaching us and comes to us under paragraph 8 it is this Council that will have closed all avenues to a negotiated settlement. I regret to say that this will be the result of this resolution, which I look upon as an utterly Greek Cypriot resolution, supported by people who do not even know where Cyprus is. Members voted on it in good will; I have nothing to say about that, but they have done a disservice to the negotiating process.

70. The Council then calls upon all parties to cooperate with the Secretary-General in his mission of good offices. If that refers to the powers given to him in paragraph 6 of Council resolution 367 (1975)—which is how I understand it—and if the Secretary-General can satisfy me and my people when I see him in a few days that that, and nothing else, is the meaning of his good offices, then, of course, we shall all try to help the Secretary-General as much as we can. We shall consider it our duty to do so, because we too believe that the Cyprus problem can be settled only through intercommunal negotiations.

71. Paragraph 10 is unacceptable to us. I must point out that there is no mention at all there of summit agreements or high-level agreements, in spite of the fact that today I forced out of the representative of the Greek Cypriot side that he is all for those agreements —or at least he had to pay lip-service to them. Why, then, behind closed doors, did they object to a wording which would have put us at ease?

72. So again, it is up to the Secretary-General to satisfy us that the agreed procedure and formula, the summit agreements and the Secretary-General's 1980 and 1981 efforts are in effect, and that the aim is a bi-zonal, federal solution. If we are satisfied, after we have reported the whole affair to my people, to the Parliament of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus and to its Government, I shall be in touch with the Secretary-General.

73. For over a week the Security Council has devoted its time to the Cyprus question. I thank the members for that. Although the decision lacks our support, we are sure of their good intentions, and we look upon the Council as the body that will help to ensure the settlement of all international conflicts by peaceful means.

74. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The representative of Turkey has asked to speak, and I now call on him.

75. Mr. KIRCA (Turkey) [*interpretation from French*]: Turkey is sorry that it has been obliged once again to reject a Security Council resolution on the question of Cyprus. We must state that once again we are faced with a text that by no means satisfies the criteria of impartiality, historical objectivity and a desire to uphold the supremacy of the rule of law. This text does not serve the cause of reconciliation and understanding between the two communities of Cyprus. Therefore Turkey rejects the resolution in its entirety because it is based on resolution 541 (1983), which we have already rejected *in toto*. Resolution 550 (1984), adopted today, is based on a fundamentally erroneous concept. It recognizes as the Government of the Republic of Cyprus a team of usurpers who can claim only to represent the Greek Cypriot community. Fortunately, that team does not govern the island's Turkish community, even by violence. It has no authority to represent it. It resulted from a *coup d'état* against the unalterable Basic Articles of the Cypriot Constitution of 16 August 1960, which was put into effect and guaranteed by international treaties of the same date duly concluded and implemented.

76. The Security Council, instead of bolstering the illegal and illegitimate claims of that team, might have chosen to adopt a more just, more balanced position, more in keeping with the principles of the inviolability of treaties and the primacy of the rule of law. Turkey repeats this once again today. It hopes that circumstances will not compel it to repeat it yet again.

77. I should like now to make some comments on certain paragraphs of the resolution. On 3 May [*2532nd meeting*] I had occasion to explain my Government's point of view on the acts and actions referred to in the sixth preambular paragraph and in paragraph 2, and I shall not repeat it. Moreover, we have on several occasions explained that the Turkish armed forces in Cyprus are not occupation troops but protective forces present on the basis of the 1960 Treaty of Guarantee.[1] We cannot, therefore, subscribe to the content of these two paragraphs.

78. It is difficult for those who are thoroughly conversant with the situation concerning Varosha to understand the meaning of the seventh preambular para-

graph and paragraph 5. The comprehensive Turkish Cypriot proposals of 5 August 1981 and the proposals of Mr. Rauf Denktaş concerning Varosha, in particular those of 2 January [*see S/16246, annex*] and 18 April 1984 [*S/16519, annex IV*], are still under discussion between His Excellency and the Secretary-General and the authorities of the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus. Thus, Turkey has great difficulty in understanding why these paragraphs appear in the text. In our view, this constitutes improper interference by the Council in the search for a solution, which is the exclusive responsibility of the two communities of the island. That interference also creates an unfortunate precedent. Is the Council going to intervene every time it is asked to do so by one of the parties, when it is dissatisfied with one or another position taken by the other party on a particular point in the intercommunal negotiations or in the talks between the other party and the Secretary-General? It is obvious that such a practice is unacceptable. That is why Turkey rejects that precedent.

79. Turkey also rejects paragraph 3, which is no more than an expression of policy of ostracism that certain circles wish to apply against the Turkish community of Cyprus. That policy is neither just nor realistic, and it can only have consequences incompatible with the quest for ultimate reconciliation between the two communities on the island.

80. This morning Mr. Denktaş reiterated the position of his Government *vis-à-vis* UNFICYP. That position is undeniably positive, welcoming and co-operative. Turkey does not therefore understand the reason for the inclusion of paragraph 6.

81. With regard to paragraph 10, it has no meaning. It has no legal basis in the Charter of the United Nations.

82. Paragraph 8 is quite unacceptable to Turkey. That paragraph is not only untimely, but dangerous. It is obviously going to make the Secretary-General's efforts, as well as the resumption of the intercommunal talks, extremely difficult. I listened with close attention to the comments made by Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the Netherlands on this subject.

83. Mr. Denktaş officially stated in the Council that the Turkish Cypriot community will not allow the continuation of the good offices of the Secretary-General on the basis of this paragraph and that the intercommunal negotiations cannot resume on that basis. The good offices of the Secretary-General cannot be linked to Security Council resolution 541 (1983), and the Council has no right to set aside the high-level agreements already concluded between the two communities.

84. Mr. Denktaş has unambiguously stated that the pursuit of the Secretary-General's mission of good offices will be acceptable to the Turkish Cypriot community only on the basis of paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 367 (1975) and that the resumption of the intercommunal talks under his auspices can be considered only on the basis of that same paragraph, a basis that exists and that has been mutually agreed to, as the Secretary-General has stated—on the basis, that is, of the high-level agreements of 12 February 1977 [*see S/12323, para. 5*] and 19 May 1979 [*see S/13369, para. 51*], the opening statement of the Secretary-General of 9 August 1980 [*S/14100, annex*] and the United Nations "evaluation" paper of 18 November 1981. There exists an enormous opportunity, but only in that framework.

85. The PRESIDENT [*interpretation from Russian*]: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cyprus, upon whom I now call.

86. Mr. IACOVOU (Cyprus): It is rather late, Mr. President, and you have had a long day. You must be tired by now. I only want to express my gratitude to the members of the Security Council for the adoption of this resolution. In particular I should like to express our appreciation for the most constructive and effective role which the members of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries played in preparing and presenting to the Council a resolution which contains the elements necessary to proceed to a just and principled solution of the problem of Cyprus.

87. The grave dangers which prompted my Government to have recourse to the Council are clear and current, and it is my earnest hope that this resolution will remedy the situation, contributing at the same time to assisting the Secretary-General to undertake new efforts to attain an overall solution to the problem of Cyprus in conformity with the principles of the Charter and the provisions laid down in the pertinent United Nations resolutions, including resolution 541 (1983) and the present resolution.

88. Resolution 541 (1983) and the present resolution contain all the essential elements for, and are a sure way to achieve, progress towards a just and lasting solution. They are a direct and natural result of the fact that the Council has appreciated the dangers to Cyprus emanating from recent illegalities. The Government of the Republic of Cyprus will do its utmost to promote an atmosphere conducive to the success of the efforts of the Secretary-General and to promote the implementation of the resolution the Council has just adopted, thereby opening the road to a just settlement of the problem of Cyprus not only in the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole but in the interests of international peace and security.

89. We feel that the Council should, as warranted by the gravity of the situation in my country, consider urgent measures, in accordance with the Charter, for the implementation of all provisions of resolution 541 (1983) and of the present resolution if the need arises —and I sincerely hope that it will not arise. In the first place, it is necessary for all Member States to exert

influence on Turkey for the withdrawal of the secessionist declaration. It is also imperative to impress upon Turkey that it must abandon its designs against the unity, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, so essential for a peaceful, just and lasting settlement of the problem of Cyprus. It is our hope that the Turkish Government will demonstrate a positive and constructive attitude with a view to putting an end, as soon as possible, to the tragedy of the people of Cyprus.

90. I should be remiss were I not to express our deepest appreciation and gratitude to you, Mr. President, for the skillful and effective manner in which you have conducted our very difficult and long debate.

The meeting rose at 9 p.m.

NOTE

[1] United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475.

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